2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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grew, became adolescent, married, and had children. But there remained a girl without a husband. Broken-hearted, she went into the forest and there found the stump of a jackfruit tree (*nangka*) which Siwa had carved, to amuse himself, into the likeness of a human being. The girl made love to the wooden figure and became pregnant. Out of pity for her, Semara gave life to the figure so that she also could have a husband, and the couple became the ancestors of the *ngatewél* clan," whose totem is the *nangka* tree.[1]

Another legend tells us that " the gods concentrated to make human beings and produced two couples; one yellow in color: Ketok Pita and Djenar; another red: Abang and Barak. From the yellow couple was born a boy, Nyoh Gading, ' Yellow Coconut,' and a girl named Kuning. The second couple had also two children, a boy named Tanah Barak, ' Red Earth,' and a girl Lewék. Yellow Coconut married Lewék; Red Earth married Kuning; and their descendants did the same until the population of Bali was created." [2]

There are endless tales like these relating the origin of the Balinese to magic or ordinary unions of the eternal male and female principles, elements of great importance in the religion around which their life revolves. Their supreme deity is *Siwa*, the esoteric combination of all the gods and all the forces of nature, he who is the hermaphrodite (*wandú*) in the sense that within him are the male and female creative forces, the complete, perfect unity. Men and women must imitate their gods to attain some of that divine " completeness " by uniting to form families that worship common ancestors in the family shrine of each Balinese household. The various families that compose a village all worship in turn a common ancestor, the village god represented by the " Navel," the *puséh*, the temple of common origin. Family ties are consequently the most important factor in Balinese life; a continuous sequence that relates the individual to his

[1] The author's free translation from the *Tjatur Yoga*.
[2] Korn: *Het Adatrecht van Bali*.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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family, to his community, and to the total of the Balinese people in a relationship that represents race and nationality to them. A woman who marries a Chinese, a Mohammedan, or a European automatically ceases to be a Balinese.

A Balinese feels that his most important duty is to marry as soon as he comes of age and to raise a family to perpetuate his line. A bachelor is in Bali an abnormal, incomplete being devoid of all social significance since only settled married men can become members of the village association. Even *pedandas*, the high priests, do not conform to the ascetic abstention favoured by orthodox Hindus and invariably marry.

Thus every Balinese centres all his hopes in having children, preferably male children, who will look after him in his old age, and, most important of all, sons who will take the proper care of his remains after he is dead, performing the necessary rites to liberate his soul for reincarnation, so it will not become an aimless wandering ghost. From paintings and temple reliefs, they are familiar with the fate that awaits the childless in Hades, the *swarga*, where a woman who dies without children is condemned to carry a gigantic worm suckling at her useless breasts. A man who does not obtain children from his wife has the right to divorce her and get back the money he paid for her; or if she dies or runs away, he remarries as soon as possible. Often the sterile wife will herself suggest and even provide for a second wife for her husband. There are, however, many childless couples that because of personal attachment or for economic reasons remain monogamous and are content to borrow or rather be given a child by a neighbour or a relative to bring up as their own.

CHILDBIRTH

To follow the development of their sexual life we shall begin the cycle of birth, childhood, adolescence, marriage, and birth again, with the event of pregnancy, a great blessing to every Balinese household.

Most people we talked to had a quite correct idea of the physi-

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

center in the island of Celebes, setting up the Balinese prince, Tjokorda Soekawati, at its head and giving him the most skillful and highly trained administrative advisers as assistants. Under this system the complex society of Bali continues to function more or less unchanged, the village autonomy is maintained, the customary law carries through from the past.

Land Ownership. The basic unit of Balinese society, the village unit, has a number of forms, each of which may be referred to a period of history at which, we assume, the form as we find it today was common. The village communities fall into three main types.[2]

1. The old style villages, known as *Bali Aga* villages, show to a greater or less extent Old Indonesian patterns of social organization. Here there is no caste. Generally there is a dual organization, headed by old men. Arrangements for superannuation are provided for in the *adat* (customary law). These villages, comparatively small, follow the pattern most usual for a community of any size or type in Bali: a central compact village divided into individual house courts, and beyond the village outlying fields which are worked by the individual families.

2. In other village communities one or more of the three upper castes are represented, while the majority of the population is casteless. The proportion may run 2 or 3 per cent people with caste to 98 or 97 per cent casteless, or it may be as much as 20 or 30 per cent composed of high caste families, with correspondingly fewer of the ordinary, casteless Balinese making up the total. The ranking village members may be of Brahmana, Satrya, or Vesya caste. The casteless refer to themselves as *Anak Bali* (Balinese people) and as "followers" or "subjects" of the dominant families.

3. Towns are made up of people of caste, the casteless, and foreigners. Generally a town is the capital of the district, seat of the regional government and the palace of the local prince. It is distinguished from the usual village by a street of foreign owned shops and a larger, better supplied market.

It is customary to subdivide communities of all three of these types into *bandjars*, equivalent to wards in American cities or to the Mexican *barrios*. These *bandjars* are spatial divisions, each with a character and a name of its own. They are held together rather loosely as to social organization but linked with many kinship ties, religious ties (being members of the same village temple, for example) and very often by dramatic, dancing, and

[2] For a discussion of the importance of the village community in the whole Indonesian area see *Adat Law in Indonesia* by B. ter Haar edited with an introduction by E. Adamson Hoebel and A. Arthur Schiller.

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

The father of Rendah was called Boedal. He was one of five sons who were, in order of birth, Bedil, Boedal, Klepoeg, Krèbèk, and Siboh (fig. 2, I). All five served during their adolescence as parakans, temporary slaves or attendants, to the local Tjokordă, a Satrya prince. In return the prince made them grants of land when they married. He was a prince famous for his generosity. "One was ashamed to ask anything of him, for he gave so much."

The father of these five was called Géwar. No one remembers the name of Géwar's father, nor of his elder brother, who figures in this study (fig. 2, I). All that we know about the old man, who was Géwar's father and Rendah's great-grandfather, is that he lived in a house next to the old "palace" (now disappeared) of the Tjokordă in Bandjar Koetoeh, the same bandjar which Rendah and his cousins still inhabit. Géwar was born in this house, but he did not inherit it. After his marriage, to Raras, also of Bandjar Koetoeh, he lived in the house marked 2 on the plan (fig. 3). Possibly this was a grant of the Tjokordă. In those days the region all about the village of Sajan was wilderness, covered with forest. When families grew and the young men wished to set up for themselves, they had to clear the ground for their housecourts and ricefields, level the land into terraces, and extend the canal system to bring water to their fields. This tremendous task must have been carried out by groups. It is known that the parent village of Sajan was Peliatan, a village at a distance of five or six miles, and that in the time of Rendah's grandfather and great-grandfather offshoots of many Peljatan families, the overflow from a district already fully populated, pushed out to form the new settlement of Sajan.

The five sons of Géwar, then, were born in House 2. The eldest, Bedil, moved out from this house, and built House 3 at the time of or shortly after his marriage. He had five children, the three eldest, girls, the two youngest, boys (fig. 2, II). They are Rendah's paternal parallel first cousins. It is to the son of one of these cousins, Gari, that Rendah has married his eldest daughter.

The eldest daughter of Bedil, Méweh, became the second wife of a man called Soewakă, who was a sentană to his first wife. A sentană is a young man, generally a younger son, who marries the daughter of a man without sons. He then becomes the successor of his father-in-law, lives in the house of the bride's parents, makes offerings at the household shrine of her ancestors, and foregoes his own family. He inherits from his father-in-law house and land, and his children continue the line not of his parents, but of their maternal grandfather. In this case the man is said to "follow the woman," and becomes a member of her family, just as in the usual marriage

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

child of the line of Gongang, Soewakā's own father, or of the line of Mentik, father of Metoe, who became Soewakā's social and religious father when Soewakā married Metoe as a sentanā. It is impossible for a Balinese to state definitely to which line Sembrod belongs, as she calls both Mentik and Gongang pekak, grandfather, just as she calls all her uncles bapā, father. Even Rendah, who is her mother's cousin, she calls bapā. That is why the matter of inheritance is significant in tracing the emphasis of kinship, for it is only after the fact of succession to property that one can be sure where the emphasis lies. In this particular family, of Metoe-Soewakā-Méweh, complicated by the sentanā marriage on one side and the ordinary marriage on the other, we shall have to await Soewakā's death to see what transpires. One can only note probabilities from the present distribution of the family in the three houses, the "town house," and the two koeboes in the fields (cf. fn. 5 and fig. 2, IV). Metoe's only daughter Loe'ed did not marry a sentanā, as might have been expected, although her husband is a poor man. They do not live in the town house, but in a koeboe of their own on Soewakā's land. There is no chance of their inheriting the town house, since succession does not go through daughters. Probably they will inherit a tenantry right to a portion of the ricefields. Méweh's eldest son, Keroenā, married as a sentanā into the family of Njadet, and therefore has no further claim on his own family, but will inherit from Njadet. He is already pengajā, member of the village council, for that household, because Njadet has become too deaf to fulfill his functions. Méweh's second son, Tèmplok, lives with his mother in her koeboe, and he is pengajā for that household. Poepoel, the third son, also lives there. Probably either Tèmplok or Poepoel will inherit that house, perhaps share it. In any case they have no chance for the town house, as they are intermediate sons. The daughter Sembrod is now a member of her husband's family and can expect nothing from her father's estate. This leaves Popol, Méweh's youngest son, who would seem to be the logical heir to the town house. As we should expect, we find him living there with his father and his co-mother Metoe, ready to take over the rights on the death of his father.

Let us go back now two generations to the family of Géwar, where we find another curious case of inheritance, not conjecture this time, but accomplished fact (fig. 2, I). It will be remembered that Géwar had five sons who served as parakans of the local prince. He lived in the house marked 2 on the map. His eldest son, Bedil, after his marriage, lived in house 3, and the second son, Boedal, in house 4 (which is now Rendah's). It was the third son, Klepoeg, who inherited the paternal house, No. 2.

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It came about in this way: the Tjokordă, prince of the district, was waging war on the region to the south of Sajan. He was victorious, and the inhabitants fled, leaving the country deserted. Krèbèk, the fourth son of Géwar, was sent away by the Tjokordă to Bandjar Toenon, in the conquered district, as a settler. He was given a grant of land, and therefore did not succeed to any of his father's lands in Sajan.

The fifth son, Siboh, who might have been expected to inherit the paternal house, was married as a sentană, and moved away to the house of his father-in-law in Bandjar Mas, thereby forfeiting his claim. And so it was that the third son, Klepoeg, was the only one left to inherit the house of Géwar. His two elder brothers already had houses of their own, and his two younger brothers had departed from the bandjar before their father's death.

Now Klepoeg had the house, and he took two wives, but he had no children. This was an important matter not only to him, but to the entire family. For although each pekarangan must contain its individual household temple, the sanggah of the paternal house is larger, and all the children and grandchildren feel a responsibility for keeping up this parent-temple, whence their own house-temples spring. Surely the spirit of the forefathers is more powerful there! And so an heir must be found for Klepoeg, who has inherited the house of Géwar and become guardian of his sanggah. The eldest brother, Bedil, who has already three daughters, hands over to Klepoeg his first-born son, at the age of three months. This child, who is Gari, still lives in the house of Géwar. He has inherited his grandfather's house, not as the child of the eldest son, but as the adopted child of the youngest son who remained at home.

The house in which Bedil lived has passed on to his younger son Darià, who lives there now with his wife and four children (House 3).

It is difficult to trace the inheritance of property other than the dwelling house. For the ricefields are loaned, mortgaged, paid for in labor, or held by a system of tenantry with a sharing of the crops, all arrangements made between individuals, rarely with a written agreement. Within the family land is loosely held, and a man will speak of as his all property belonging to himself and his brothers, even of his cousins. Princes claim as theirs land which may have been given as a grant by their father or grandfather in return for services already rendered, or else let out on a crop-sharing basis, or even land originally owned by the commoner, but which the prince has planted with lines of his own coconut trees between the fields. The Balinese have an extraordinary memory for their relative indebtedness to every individual of their acquaintance, and the balance of favors given and

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626 This is part of the old village law, now taken over by the courts—a sort of
586 punishment and compensation for disturbing the "balance" of the social
587 group. I have known a case of an unusually fickle woman, who passed from one husband to another in such rapid succession that none had had time to pay for her before being deserted. Husband No. 4 found himself sued for a sum in which each of her previous husbands had a share: No. 4 was to pay No. 3, who owed No. 2, who still had not paid No. 1. The father also had a claim, but with faint hopes of recovery.

586 A wife who is maltreated by her husband has the option of returning to her family, where she will be graciously received if they do not consider her in the wrong. At the present time, if she can prove her husband's delinquency in the courts, she may obtain some right over the children. However, even under the old regime, a husband has been known to allow the wife to bring up the children in a separate establishment, although they are considered chiefly his, and the descendants of his ancestral line.

583 There was the case of a girl for whom a marriage was arranged with
584 her cousin, the son of her father's elder brother. Her father had died, leaving his wife with four girls and a baby boy, and no one to provide for them. The cousin's branch owned house and land, whereas the girl's family had nothing, not even the space on which their house stood. Her father had occupied the land as tenant-farmer to the Tjokordā, and after his death, as there was no man left to till it, the land was forfeit. Obviously the marriage of the eldest daughter to her cousin would have been advantageous, and all her relations urged her to agree to it. The wealthy branch could have advanced the money needed to buy the land on which her house stood, and thus saved the house for her mother and sisters, and eventually a heritage for the small brother. But the girl resisted all persuasion to the match. Finally the grandmother resorted to a ruse. She came to the girl, asking her to prepare medicine for her cousin, lying ill with a fever. The girl collected the necessary herbs and spices, pounded them together, and brought them to her cousin's house. Although she hated him, she could
● [602] not refuse to help a relative in illness.

"He lies within," said the grandmother, indicating the metèn, the room enclosed with walls. "Take it in to him."

The girl entered the room. At once the old woman pulled the door to, and bolted it on the outside. The young man leapt up from the couch to embrace his unwilling bride.

583 For several days the girl was kept a prisoner. When they began to relax
586 their vigilance, she ran away, but her cousins always pursued her, and brought her back. They believed that once used to the young man, she

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia
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Am 621 613
MK 621 178
Bl 621 607
Bl 621 794

except for the surviving nuclear families, or lineages, which maintain possession of groves of trees. These have in some instances been converted into arbitrarily formed land-owning units by reason of European or "negory" authority.

9. *The gaukang.*—In South Celebes there is an interesting institution known as the "gaukang" (also as kalompoan and arajang). This is the representation and symbolization of the vital spirit or soul of a regional community in a particular object of supernatural qualities.[22] The original fetish could be a stone, a gnarled branch, a flag, lance, plow or some other object. Later on, other elaborate accessories were sometimes added to the original one, and in some instances these secondary fetishes became substituted in the place of the original.

In breaking off from a parent, new communities became independent in their own right, even though they had no fetishes of their own. They did, however, remain second-rate in general status. Even in the Mandar states, where patrilineal sub-clans are described as being groups of importance, the communities are territorial, as elsewhere. The governor is the guardian of the fetish. There is great variety in the names and functions of the assistants and subchiefs. Originally each fetishistic community had its own council (hadat), and although war and the principalities, alliances and Dutch administration have had a great deal of influence on South Celebes social organization, underneath it all the regional community is the cell and primal form of social structure.

10. *The Balinese desa.*—The "desa," as the villages of Bali are called, is a community based purely on geographical contiguity. It is true that a kinship relation does bind the little-known religious societies of Bali together, but the members of these cults are scattered throughout a number of villages, and their function is limited to the joint worship of a deified progenitor and the maintenance of a temple for him. The reckonig of the relationship is patrilineal, except for some "old style" desa.[23]

The "desa" is a community which depends in the first place upon a common duty and will to keep the village grounds clean for the gods, and to carry on the sacrifices and other religious ceremonies called for by custom. There is considerable variation between the

[22] [The Dutch call this social complex "het ornamentschap." This should have to be translated "ornamentship." In English, a more effective equivalent would be "community fetishism."]

[23] [The distinction between "old" and "new" style desa is described by van Vollenhoven, *Adatrecht*, vol. I, pp. 464ff.]